

Message Text

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FOR CARTER FROM PA

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT EVANS AND NOVAK COLUMN OP-ED PAGE WASHINGTON POST MONDAY AUGUST 8 HEADED "THE US COMMITMENT TO DEFEND EUROPE (AMENDED)".
 2. A DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL DIRECTIVE ON DEFENSE STRATEGY WAS AMENDED LAST WEEK BY ADDING SIX WORDS THAT SEEMINGLY REASSERT THE US COMMITMENT TO DEFEND CENTRAL EUROPE BUT ACTUALLY RAISE CONTRADICTIONS THAT CAN ONLY BE RESOLVED BY JIMMY CARTER HIMSELF.
 3. THE ORIGINAL DRAFT PREPARED LAST MONTH CONTAINED THIS AMBIGUOUS POLICY FOR MEETING A SOVIET ATTACK AGAINST WEST GERMANY: "CONSONANT WITH PRESENT NATO STRATEGY, UNCLASSIFIED
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- INCLUDING FORWARD DEFENSE, THE US IS COMMITTED TO MINIMUM LOSS OF TERRITORY IN THE EVENT OF A WARSAW PACT CONVENTIONAL ATTACK."
4. A REVISED VERSION DRAFTED LAST WEEK WAS STRENGTHENED TO READ THAT "THE US IS COMMITTED TO HAVING THE CAPABILITY, IN CONJUNCTION WITH ITS ALLIES, TO STOP A WARSAW PACT

ATTACK WITH MINIMUM LOSS OF TERRITORY, AND ULTIMATELY TO RESTORE PREWAR BOUNDARIES." MOST IMPORTANT ARE THOSE LAST SIX WORDS--"AND ULTIMATELY TO RESTORE PREWAR BOUNDARIES"--WHICH MEAN THAT ANY SOVIET INVASION WOULD BE ROLLED BACK TO THE COMMUNIST BLOC'S PRESENT BORDERS.

5. ACCORDING TO SOME DEFENSE SOURCES, THOSE SIX WORDS WERE SLIPPED INTO THE DIRECTIVE AFTER OUR RECENT COLUMN REPORTED A US STRATEGY CONCEDING THE LOSS OF ONE-THIRD OF WEST GERMANY TO A SOVIET INVASION. WHATEVER THE TIMING, THE REVISION RAISES TWO SERIOUS QUESTIONS.

6. QUESTION NO. 1: PRM-10, THE VOLUMINOUS NATIONAL-STRATEGY PAPER UPON WHICH THE SIX-PAGE PRESIDENTIAL DIRECTIVE IS BASED, SAYS A SOVIET ATTACK IN CENTRAL EUROPE CAN BE ROLLED BACK TO "PREWAR BOUNDARIES" ONLY IF DEFENSE SPENDING IS INCREASED BEYOND A LEVEL ACCEPTABLE TO THE US PUBLIC. AS WE REPORTED EARLIER, NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI ECHOED THAT VIEW BEFORE THE SECURITY COORDINATING COUNCIL (SCC), WHICH MADE NO DISSENT. SO, HOW WILL THE PLEDGE IN THE PRESIDENTIAL DIRECTIVE BE MADE GOOD? -

7. QUESTION NO. 2: BOTH PRM-10 AND BRZEZINSKI (AT THE SCC MEETING) SUGGEST COVERING MILITARY WEAKNESS WITH STRONG UNCLASSIFIED

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RHETORIC. SO, WERE THE SIX REASSURING WORDS ADDED MERELY IN PURSUANCE OF THIS DUBIOUS TACTIC?

8. WHAT IS INVOLVED HERE IS NOT MERELY SCHOLARLY CONSIDERATION OF FUTURE OPTIONS BUT AN OFFICIAL APPRAISAL OF PRESENT REALITY. PRM-10 SAYS: "THE STUDY CONCLUDES THAT THE CHANCE OF NATO'S STOPPING AN ATTACK WITH MINIMAL LOSS OF TERRITORY AND THEN ACHIEVING ITS FULL OBJECTIVE OF RECOVERING THAT LAND WHICH HAD BEEN LOST APPEARS REMOTE AT THE PRESENT TIME."

9. THE FOUR ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES INDICATED BY PRM-10 AS THE ONES MOST ACCEPTABLE TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC WOULD CONTINUE THIS SITUATION. IN ADDITION, PRM-10 SAYS THE STRATEGIES "PROVIDE ONLY A MODERATE CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITY TO CONFRONT THE SOVIETS WORLDWIDE IN THE EVENT A MAJOR WAR ERUPTS" AND INDICATES THE EXISTING CAPABILITY TO DO THIS IS "UNCERTAIN." THAT UNDERMINES THE NEW YORK TIMES REPORT, ATTRIBUTED TO "A SENIOR WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL" THAT US ATTACKS ON SOVIET "ASSETS" OUTSIDE EUROPE WOULD FORCE MOSCOW TO SURRENDER GERMAN TERRITORY GAINED IN AN INVASION.

10. TO COMPENSATE FOR THIS WEAKNESS, BOTH PRM-10 AND

BRZEZINSKI PROPOSE PUBLIC REAFFIRMATION OF PRESENT NATO STRATEGY WHILE PRIVATELY ADMITTING INADEQUATE MEANS TO PURSUE IT. PRM-10 URGES THAT THE US "PUBLICLY SUPPORT MC-14/3 (OFFICIAL NATO STRATEGY), PARTICULARLY WITH REFERENCE TO FORWARD DEFENSE AND RESTORATION OF THE STATUS QUO ANTE." HENCE, THE LATEST DRAFT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL DIRECTIVE IS LESS THAN CONVINCING WHEN IT DECLARES "THE US REAFFIRMS US STRATEGY AS EXPRESSED IN MC-14/3."

11. THE ALTERNATIVE TO SUCH DECEPTION IS DESCRIBED BY PRM-10 AS A MINIMUM OF 33 ARMY DIVISIONS (COMPARED TO THE UNCLASSIFIED

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PRESENT 16) IN THE US FORCE STRUCTURE. EVEN A 27-DIVISION STRUCTURE, SAYS THE DOCUMENT, COULD NOT RECAPTURE THE ONE-THIRD OF WEST GERMANY LOST TO SOVIET INVASION.

12. THIS GROSSLY MISSTATES THE PROBLEM, IN THE VIEW OF MOST MILITARY EXPERTS--SUCH AS RETIRED GEN. JAMES HOLLINGSWORTH. IN HIS 1976 STUDY FOR THE SENATE, HOLLINGSWORTH PUT LESS STRESS ON ADDITIONAL MANPOWER THAN ON ADDITIONAL FIREPOWER. NOWHERE IN THE HUNDREDS OF PAGES OF PRM-10 IS IT EVEN SUGGESTED THAT STANDARDIZED, MORE POWERFUL ROCKETS AND GUNS MIGHT DEFEND CENTRAL EUROPE WITHOUT MASSIVE INCREASES IN DEFENSE SPENDING.

13. PRM-10, THE PRODUCT OF NEWLY APPOINTED CIVILIANS AT THE PENTAGON, IS REGARDED BY UNIFORMED OFFICERS NOT SO MUCH AS IDEOLOGICALLY IMPURE AS PROFESSIONALLY SHODDY. SECRETARY OF DEFENSE HAROLD BROWN HAS BEEN CHARY ABOUT GIVING IT HIS FULL ENDORSEMENT AND HAS PRIVATELY CRITICIZED ASPECTS OF IT. YET NOBODY HAS REPUDIATED IT AS A SOURCE OF VAST POTENTIAL MISCHIEF, AND THE FACT REMAINS THAT BRZEZINSKI HAS EMBRACED ITS NATO STRATEGY.

14. ONE ADDITIONAL CONTRADICTION: WHEREAS THE DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL DIRECTIVE REAFFIRMS PRESIDENT CARTER'S PROMISE TO NATO OF A THREE PER CENT ANNUAL INCREASE IN REAL US DEFENSE SPENDING, THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET HAS PUT A ONE PER CENT INCREASE CEILING ON NEXT YEAR'S DEFENSE BUDGET. THE GAP BETWEEN WHAT THIS ADMINISTRATION SAYS AND WHAT IT DOES ON DEFENSE QUESTIONS IS WIDENING. CHRISTOPHER

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